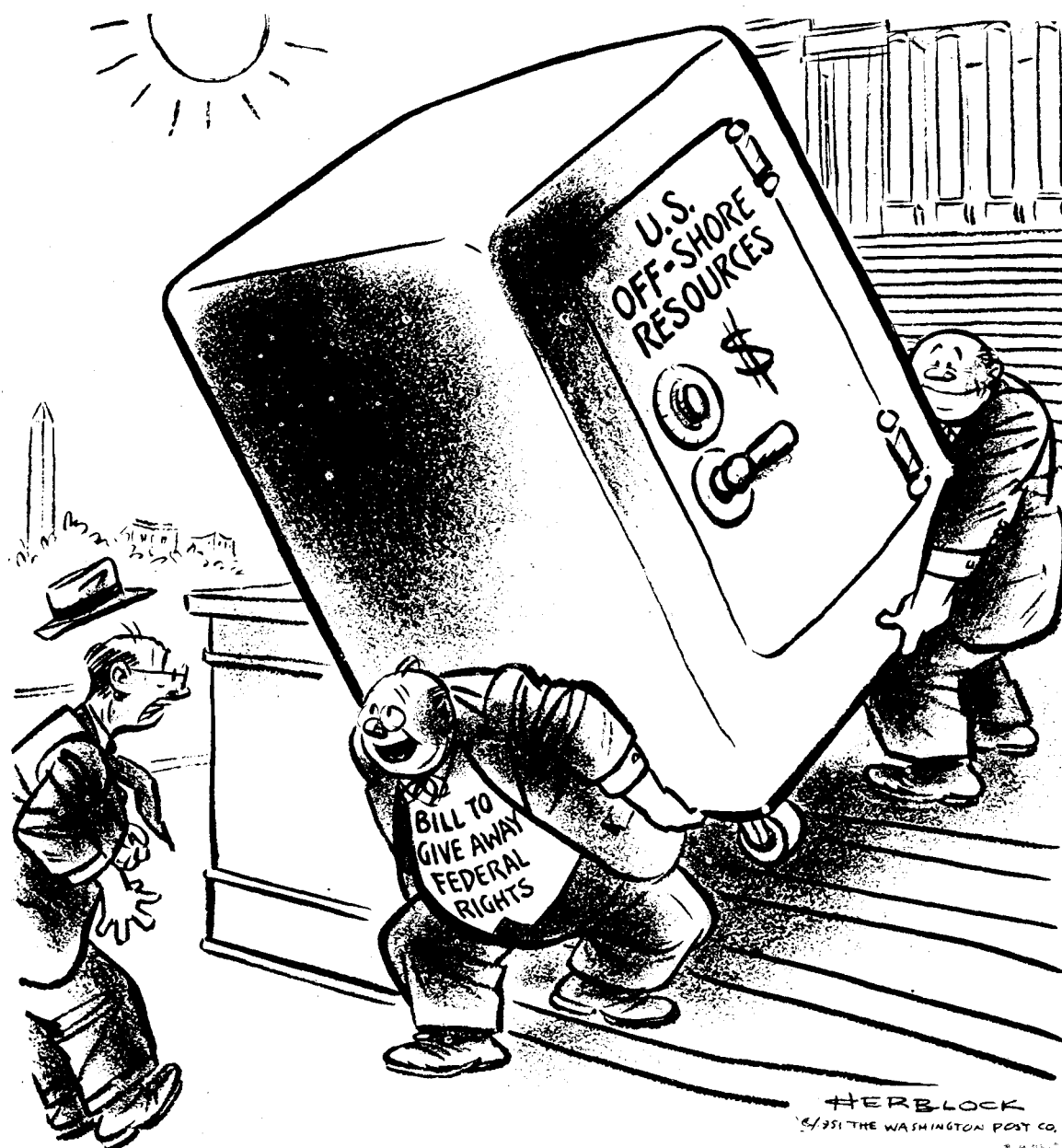


New Republic



What's wrong? We're doing this in broad daylight.

Harold L. Ickes on: The Big Steal

Letters

A World Safe for Fascism

● In connection with Harold L. Ickes' column, "Surreptitious Diplomacy," (NR, August 6) it is interesting to recall two news items from the New York Times for Monday, July 23. On page one, under the caption: "Spain to Send Military Aides to Train in US War Schools," we learn that top-ranking military personnel from Franco Spain will soon arrive in this country to be trained in four of our leading military schools, in "weapons, tactics and techniques" incidental to modern warfare. The article indicates the military students from Spain come to this country at the invitation of our Department of State and that this is the first step in modernizing the Spanish army of Franco "in furnishing aid." The article states the Spanish standing army is "approximately 400,000 strong," and that Spain has in addition "about two million men who have had combat experience." That would seem to guarantee the defeat of all democratic elements struggling for freedom in Spain.

On page four of the same issue of the Times, we read under the caption: "Spain Is Reported Selling to Soviet," that already Spain has been traced as selling 2,000 tons of copper and lead to the Soviet Union. "During the last three weeks two further Spanish sales to the Soviet Union were traced in Switzerland. One was for 15,000 tons of refined copper and the second for 10,000 tons of refined copper. . . . Export licenses are understood to have been granted by the Suanzes Ministry in Madrid," the news item reads.

What is one to infer from these two news items except that we have a State Department and an Administration incapable of formulating consistent international policies? We fought World Wars I and II for the sake of "making the world safe for democracy." What we have been doing since seems to be in the interest of "making the world safe for Fascism." In fact, one could establish this latter more easily in examining the Truman-Acheson policies than one could establish the former as our aim.

Bancroft, Mich.

A. W. KAUFFMAN

How to Fool Them

● The following are excerpts from an interview with Senator Mundt appearing in the August 3 issue of *United States News and World Report* and reprinted at Senator Mundt's request in the August

1 *Congressional Record*, Appendix (p. A5079). The good Senator was being questioned in regard to his proposal for a Republican-Dixiecrat alliance in '52.

Senator Mundt: . . . But if we decide that we're going to court the South . . . we should give some thought to that in the selection of our candidates, and we should also give some thought to Southern concepts in the writing of a platform.

Question: In civil rights?

Senator Mundt: In civil rights, in education, in socialized medicine . . .

Question: Won't you, as a practical matter, be up against the fact that in the Northern states you will be driving the Democratic Party to be the civil-rights party . . . and that those Republicans who feel the same way about civil rights will join with those Democrats and carry most of these Northern states?

Senator Mundt: No; I don't think that they will. . . . We can present a pretty good Republican position, for example, to those who believe in the Fair Employment Practices Commission, who are largely in the Northern cities. We can say: "What party was it that freed the colored men?"

Portland, Ore.

D. D. G.

The Way We Live Now

● When my husband went into the army he was just 18. We'd been married about six months. At that time he earned \$120 a month. When released two years later, he worked part time at the post office and went to college. We paid high rent on old houses and rented rooms.

He quit school and took a full-time job at the post office. Eight months ago we borrowed money for a down payment on a new duplex. We leased it and with my husband's income, we shall earn about \$4,500 this year.

The schooling and the home we got thanks to dear old Uncle Sam. We never have money left over from month to month, but we don't blame that on the high cost of living. We figure we're getting our money's worth. We seldom eat steaks. Hamburger and oleo suit us fine. When we feel something is too high we just DON'T BUY IT. We've furniture, a TV set, a '49 Mercury, two healthy kids and no complaints with the economy.

Too well do we remember as kids seeing lots of good but poor people going into surplus food stores to get a few not so good potatoes. Too well do we remember more good people being unable to find work, humbling themselves to work on WPA. Yeah, things were cheap, then, but who could buy them? Pork prices were so low farmers were told to kill off baby pigs to up the prices so that they could make a decent living. And that

was when prices were low and people were starving. How many people are starving today? Prices were low when *Grapes of Wrath* was written.

Maybe we don't expect enough. I admit we are not big shots. Of course we'd like more money, who wouldn't? Perhaps there will be another crash, and when it comes prices will drop. But the average man will be worse off than he is now. That's for sure. Until then we are going to enjoy ourselves and be glad the country is prospering and everyone is working.

Lawrence, Kan. MRS. FRANK M. YORK

The Sources of Moral Patterns

● Boyd H. Bode says in his review of July 23 that my work, *The Human Community*, "certainly does not press the issue whether [moral] patterns are generated from within the life of the community or derived from a transcendental source," and thus fails, he says, to get at the chief source of the trouble.

The word "transcendental" has many meanings which Professor Bode does not specify. In respect to morals it usually refers to sanctions of conduct that lie beyond the realm of nature and naturalism. If this is what Professor Bode means by the word, it is clear from his criticism that he either has misread or not read my book. The point repeatedly is made there (pp. 289, 182, 204, 252, 188, etc.) that our patterns of value are generated within the natural processes and the living situations of the community. The entire development of the book rests on this thesis. Thus, on p. 183: "This is

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Jolly Pungent

Every time you met him, you were reminded of that descriptive American phrase—the "Senator from over the ridge." — "Critic" in the New Statesman and Nation.

Hollywood s'en va-t-en guerre

Paramount's working on *Persian Gulf*, a story featuring today's headlines. That spot's hotter than Korea. Bill Siström expects to have a camera crew there in September. They may arrive in time for the shooting. — Hedda Hopper in the San Francisco Chronicle.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE President's wholesale attack on McCarthyism was an at-long-last affair to many in the Capital. That Mr. Truman's timing may have been more realistic, however, is shown by the fact that his magnificent blast was lost on those who have shut their eyes to the severe casualties inflicted by the character assassins. The would-be blind men include all but a handful of the members of Congress. While agency security officers have erected on their desks images of Senators McCarthy and McCarran — and judged their "doubtful" cases accordingly — McCarthy's colleagues in the Senate have cloaked their failure to protest in one of two stock remarks: (a) You don't get in a contest with a skunk, or (b) after all, there was Alger Hiss.



These excuses serve even liberal independents like Douglas of Illinois, who has not hesitated to tick off his own party, Mr. Truman, Senator Taft, the Republicans, the State Department or what have you. The President has decided that he can afford to dirty his hands in a good cause, and that even those who rarely read lower than the blaring headlines know that McCarthy has not brought one Hiss to light, to say nothing of to trial.

By launching the Americanism crusade before the Legion, Mr. Truman put fire bells on his announcement. The organization's national commander, Earl Cocke of Georgia, was a willing tool of former Defense Secretary Louis Johnson in the latter's fight against Dean Acheson, and more than that believes that McCarthy has really been fighting Communism. The President has known all along that McCarthyism's real target was himself and his program. And McCarthyism's success in the 1950 elections brought paralysis even in the White House.

Last January, following the perjury conviction of William Remington, Mr.

Truman was persuaded to change his own executive order establishing standards in the loyalty program. Originally there had to be reasonable grounds for belief that a government employee was in fact disloyal. Now there has to be only a reasonable doubt of his loyalty. Harassed agency security officers, fearing that some of Capitol Hill's McCarthyism would be rubbed off on them, have generally decided the doubt in favor of the

Senator from Wisconsin and his even more formidable colleague, Democrat McCarran of Nevada. Up until last month, the security program (added to the loyalty program by a series of Congressional riders) had neither a common set of procedures among the federal agencies nor any machinery whatsoever for an appeal. Last month the President told the National Security Council to come up with suggestions for adding these elemental safeguards to the civil liberties of government servants. His speech before the Legion indicates that he will demand some action from the NSC and was not just writing for the record.

The word here is that Mr. Truman's counterattack against the hatemongers was the opening gun in a sustained performance that will take the President on tour just as soon as Congress adjourns. If the middle of October finds no new international crisis, the voters can expect to see Mr. Truman on the back end of that train again. This report, which the President still refuses to confirm at his press conferences, coincides with statements from President Truman's intimates that he is in top physical shape and full of optimism about the future. The President has decided that he cannot longer delay answering those who are chipping away at the whole edifice of his Administration.

He is said to be convinced that enemies of his foreign and domestic programs are seeking to destroy them by

destroying the reputation—even the very machinery—of the government. The President has been reluctant, the story goes, to dwell on his personal reputation for honesty in meeting the attacks on the conduct of some of his aides and advisers. Now, however, he is ready to get into this subject, convinced that the overwhelming majority of Americans believe in his personal integrity and his devotion to the goals he has set for his Administration — peace, freedom and security.

Notes: Size of the cut in the Administration's foreign security bill will probably be decided in a contest between two Georgians — Senators Walter George, number-two Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee and chairman of the Finance Committee, and Richard Russell, chairman of the Armed Services group. George wants to cut \$2 billion, which is the whole of the economic-aid section. Russell will fight to limit total cuts to \$1 billion. He has the House bill, Chairman Tom Connally of Foreign Relations and a lot of other Senators on his side, including Senator Taft, who is striving to keep abreast of Eisenhower these days. . . . After valiant help from Democrats William Fulbright and Paul Douglas in scoring favoritism and influence in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, GOP Senators Homer Capehart and John Bricker still went out on their own in winding up the subcommittee investigation. Effect of the partisan minority report on the RFC is to cloud the whole issue in Congress on the Administration's "ethics." There is little to stop Mr. Truman from lumping the whole business, including the forthcoming report of the Douglas ethics inquiry, into another job of Congressional mudslinging. . . . Breaking of the logjam of appropriations bills allows the fiscal picture for next June 30 to come clear. It is not very encouraging. Congress has appropriated between \$73 and \$80 billion while revenues were running at about \$61 billion. Even the House tax bill of \$7.3 billion, which will be cut in the Senate, would leave a large and inflationary deficit.

Washington

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

the source, I think, of the spiritual life. It has sanction within the natural order. It does not escape it, transcend it, or repudiate it." Or, on p. 289: "The disintegrative effects of science and specialized thinking in our culture cannot be countered by trying to abandon science and escaping to a supernatural asylum. . . . The resources of salvation are only in men themselves." Had Professor Bode taken the trouble to check, he would have found that an earlier book of mine, *Earth Is Enough*, is devoted entirely to the naturalistic basis of morals and religion.

Professor Bode probably is confused by my effort, admittedly tentative, to criticize the segregative methods and ideology of science while remaining within the naturalistic frame of reference. Had he approached the book with a more exploratory attitude and less from the point of view of conventional categories confidently tucked away in his waistcoat pocket he would not have made this misinterpretation. BAKER BROWNELL
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

● A discussion of moral patterns is bound to involve the question of "transcendentalism." The reason is simple. Moral patterns that derive their authority from a "realm beyond nature" are certain to be significantly different from patterns that have their origin within the realm of nature.

An item in *Time* (issue of July 23) entitled "Chief Justice on Morality" illustrates this difference. According to Chief Justice Vinson, speaking in his official capacity, "Nothing is more certain in modern society than the principle that there are no absolutes." This statement is attacked in various quarters on the ground that it is destructive of all morality.

In order to gain access to the realm beyond nature, we must rely on something like the Platonic doctrine of immediate intellectual apprehension, or the mystical experiences of Christian theology; and then absolutes are in control. Our insights are then based on an alleged eternal structure of things, and there is no room for argument. On the other hand, if we reject this realm beyond nature then all knowledge must conform to the requirements of scientific method. The test for moral patterns lies in *social consequences* as determined by empirical observation.

Now, which side is Professor Brownell on? He does not say. We need assurance that the old transcendentalisms are not perpetuated in the terminology of "community living." When we find the author speaking of a "naturalistic mysti-

cism" (page 183) it is high time to be on our guard. BOYD H. BODE
Gainesville, Fla.

Government by Pressure

● Your article, "Government by Pressure," (NR, August 6) leaves the impression that the force exerted by the lobbyists is evil. This is far from the truth.

To develop a strong, healthy democracy it is necessary to have continual competing forces mitigating the exploitation of the masses by the necessary leadership bureaucracy.

The question resolves itself into, why are the big-business and utility interests so well represented in Congress, while Labor and the consumer have only a feeble voice? The development of large pressure groups of consumers and more effective lobbying by these forces can bring about a balance that will offset any advantage to any group.

In this manner concessions will be made to all. The delegates of power will listen to all powerful lobbies and then legislate on behalf of the majority. JO MAZUR

Political Director, Dress-makers Union, Local 22

New York City

Delusions of Grandeur

● To a former American, it appears the average American is today suffering from delusions of grandeur. They believe they have a mission, a mandate from God, to wage a holy crusade against an ideology; that America is rich enough and powerful enough to maintain the status quo in a world in revolution. They accept as allies in this crusade any country, any government, no matter how corrupt; the only requirement is that the government shall be anti-Russian. Witness the acceptance of Franco of Spain, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and the notorious convicted murderers of Hitler's Germany, freed to assist in German rearmament. . . .

Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationship—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live and work together in the same world, at peace. . . .

MARGARET LINDGREN

Biggar, Saskatchewan, Canada

A T.R.B. Fan

● Even if I do not get another thing to read, I always just open up the NR and read T.R.B. as soon as it comes in the house.

It's awfully discouraging sometimes, but it's what we all need.

Montclair, N. J.

MRS. N. C. WEBB

**MacARTHURISM AND 1952**

EIGHT Republican Senators—five of whom are up for re-election next year—have put politics ahead of patriotism in making public their “individual views” on the hearings into the dismissal of General MacArthur.

The combined Armed Services-Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate, which conducted the seven-week investigation, voted 20 to 3 not to issue either majority or minority reports on the ground that formal disagreement in the Senate on our policy in the Far East in the middle of Korean truce negotiations could have only a harmful effect. Republican Senators Bridges (N.H.), Wiley (Wis.), Smith (N.J.), Hickenlooper (Iowa), Knowland (Calif.), Cain (Wash.), Brewster (Me.) and Flanders (Vt.) chose to defy this wise decision and issued a statement calling, in effect, for abandoning the truce talks in Korea and extending the war to all Asia.

Although the eight Senators presented this report to the public as their own personal opinions, the document must be taken as a statement of minority-party policy. The joint inquiry, directed by Sen. Richard Russell (D, Ga.), so devastated the original case General MacArthur made out for himself that the Republican Party is now reluctant to make the General's claims the basis of its 1952 campaign. The GOP, however, is still intent on wringing every possible vote out of the MacArthur affair. The strategy apparently is to have MacArthurism, like McCarthyism, promoted as a special crusade of one Republican clique, instead of as the official program of the GOP. Styles Bridges, the number-one friend of the China Lobby, and his seven co-signers of the minority report, have been tapped to lead that crusade.

The propaganda line which the Bridges group can be expected to follow, judging by their report, will be compounded of the same old lies, distortions and evasions. Yalta is again to be presented as the root of all evil, the State Department as the center of “Communist infiltration” in America and the Administration's Far Eastern policy as the “most desolate failure in the history of our foreign policy.” About the Republican alternative to that policy, as in the past, we are likely to hear little except double talk, since, in logic, the “positive plan to win” advocated by the Bridges group calls for the launching of a third world war by the United States.

That is far from good politics. The Taft-Wherry leadership will deny that this is its purpose, as it denies that it would abrogate constitutional guarantees of civil rights even while it abets McCarthy's activities. But if the Bridges line stands unchallenged by the GOP leadership, the denials will have no meaning. The minority report is clear on what the eight Senators would have us do:

A policy of victory must be announced to the American people in order to restore unity and confidence. It is too much to expect that our people will accept a limited war. Our policy . . . must be to bring about decisive victory . . .

Cessation of hostilities, based upon restoration of the status quo at the 38th Parallel, will be a victory for aggression.

Any peace short of the liberation and unification of Korea is a delusion. Any settlement at the 38th Parallel is a Chinese Communist victory. . . . To make a settlement South of the Yalu . . . is to admit the success of the Chinese aggressors.

No one is proposing to restore the status quo at the 38th Parallel. General Ridgway has repeatedly made this clear, and the Republican report could only be designed to mislead the public on this point.

To say that we must go on to the Yalu River is but a deceptive way of saying that we should extend the war beyond Korea. To proceed to the Yalu, as the *New Republic* explained in its special Korean anniversary issue, would take double our present force and result only in another stalemate along the border, unless we bombed Manchuria.

Our best military experts tell us that unless the United States wants to go to war with China, we had best be content with victory inside North Korea and with negotiating a new dividing line somewhere between the 38th and the 39th Parallels. The signers of the minority report apparently prefer war.

Sen. Wayne Morse (Ore.), who along with Senators Leverett Saltonstall and Henry Cabot Lodge (Mass.), refrained from joining the Republican committee statement, has correctly labeled it a “highly partisan and biased” report. “I am satisfied,” Morse states in a forceful dissent, “that even as a bit of political strategy [the signers of the report] are making a great mistake.” We share his faith in the American people.

THE WEEK

THE ZOOMING BUDGET

Senators playing with the notion that it really won't be necessary to vote all the new taxes in the \$7.2 billion bill for tax boosts already passed by the House have been given a sharp reminder by one of their own committees that they are playing with fire. In a special report the Joint Economic Committee warned that the weakened price-controls law will allow spiraling farm parity prices, protected business margins and wage escalator provisions to start a "cost-push" inflation in which various economic groups will be encouraged to outdo each other in pushing prices up.

What could deter such a movement? Probably only taxes considerably higher even than those passed by the House.

To illustrate its case in just one economic area, the committee projected present spending and revenue plans and powers several years into the future. Forgetting the consumer for the moment, it examined Uncle Sam's prospective financial status and found that even if prices were to remain stable the federal government would run up a deficit of \$7 billion this year under the present tax law. But the bulk of defense spending will not have come fully into effect even then. It will not be until 1953 that the US will reach the presently foreseeable peak of the defense effort. If Congress were to hold taxes at present levels until then, Uncle Sam would be faced with an estimated deficit of \$21.3 billion by 1953.

With Senators talking of chopping \$1 to \$2 billion off the House tax bill, the committee outlined the government's financial prospects in black and red, with emphasis on the latter. Booming defense orders are expected to double this year's military expenditures of \$19.2 billion in fiscal 1952. They will rise to \$55.5 billion in fiscal 1953 and, together with overseas and other commitments, bring that year's bill to \$87.3 billion. In contrast, the present tax law will only yield expected revenues of

\$61.6 billion and \$66 billion in the next two years respectively. Even the House bill would yield 1953 revenue of only \$75 billion, leaving a \$12.3 billion gap. These figures are persuasive, projected as they are on rather optimistic expectations about the behavior of the economy as a whole. They leave it to Congress to decide how little compensation it will provide for the inflation controls it has weakened and how it will pay for the huge military appropriations to which it is committed.

AMERICA PLUS

Almost 500 people had squeezed into the American Legion hall at Newport Harbor, just south of Los Angeles. They cheered lustily when they were told that they were participants in the inauguration of the counter-revolution against Communism and Socialism. The West Coast's most zealous crusader against these twin evils, California's State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, was founding a new national movement, America Plus.

America Plus, Senator Tenney told his audience, is a "grass-roots" movement to fight for freedom and property rights. He was not advocating "democratic government" because pure democracy provides no real freedom but is the rule of the mob.

America Plus would fight for a freedom-of-choice amendment to the Constitution to allow the owners of apartments, dance halls, restaurants, hotels and cocktail bars to choose their own guests, patrons and tenants. Another amendment which the new movement seeks, the Senator said, would prohibit the government from forcing private business to be tax collectors and bookkeepers for the government without reasonable compensation.

Aldrich Blake, America Plus's executive secretary, explained that the launching was taking place in Newport Harbor (pop. 12,000) because small towns are proportionately more American than larger towns. America Plus, he assured

his audience, knows the value of showmanship. Parades, pageants and gigantic protests, like the Boston Tea Party, will be used.

America Plus will elect no officers. Officials at all levels will be appointed, and strategy and policy decisions will be made by the leaders as a precaution against Communist infiltration.

SLANTED NEWS

W. T. "Bill" Evjue, vigorous editor of the Madison, Wis., *Capital Times*, has exposed many influences he considers unsavory in our society, the latest and most newsworthy being his state's own Senator McCarthy.

Recently, Editor Evjue tackled a brand new objective, "something the *Capital Times* has wanted to do through the many years": the handling of news by the large wire services, such as the Associated Press and the United Press both of which his paper uses.

"It is important," a conspicuous, front-page editorial said, "that the readers be on warning concerning much of this reporting. In many cases news is angled, distorted and suppressed. We have noted this particularly in the case of many news developments that have accompanied the career of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. The *Capital Times* believes that its readers should know that the AP and the UP have been handling the news about McCarthy to fit the bias of the powerful and wealthy publishers who control the policies of those news agencies."

The veteran newsman cited other examples of wire-service distortions: an Illinois dispatch referring to the "Kelly machine" and the "Green organization"; an AP story attempting to discredit public ownership of electric power saying that the "TVA flood-control system had failed," a story proven false but with no public retraction.

"We believe our readers are entitled to know the forces at work in shaping up the news served to them daily under

the AP and the UP labels," the editorial said. "If readers have that knowledge, they will be better able to arrive at intelligent decisions on public issues."

THE RIGHT TO BAIL

As the Justice Department continued to enshrine leading Stalinists in jails and penitentiaries throughout the country, its lawyers have sought to simplify the process to an act of rote. In doing so they are challenging traditional legal safeguards, notably the right to bail. Attorney General Howard McGrath has taken the position that he alone should have the right to accept or reject any proffered bail. And it has now been revealed that all US attorneys have received a "more stringent" set of rules to apply to the acceptance of bail.

The Justice Department doctrine has been promulgated in order to make ineffective the financial power of Communist-front groups like the Civil Rights Congress. Since the Congress sponsored several Communist leaders who have jumped bail, the government has some basis for asking that it be considered unqualified as a surety. But the Attorney General's new rules go further. They require that if the defendant is a Communist, "the surety may not be a member of that party or of any group on the Attorney General's subversive list." Political beliefs of a surety have never before entered into the picture; now they become a primary issue. Not only is this provision unreasonable—for who else but their associates are likely to bail out Communists—but it continues to rely on the legality of the "subversive list," which the Supreme Court has challenged.

There are signs, however, that the judiciary is beginning to lose its awe of McGrath's myopic approach. Judge Sylvester Ryan ruled earlier that the Attorney General's discretion on bail was reviewable by the court. Recently, in the course of a hearing on Alexander Bittelman, Judge Edward Weinfeld put into simple language what had previously been implied, that to allow the Attorney General unlimited power to reject bail in effect means "foreclosing the right to bail." It also bars Com-

munist from their right under the Eighth Amendment to be protected against "excessive bail."

Meanwhile the Attorney General's new bail "rules"—aimed at the Communists—have also had damaging effect on non-Communist defendants. New York lawyers report a general tightening-up of the courts' attitude toward bail. Judges are so sensitive that

they are resolving most doubts against the defendants. Individuals in routine deportation cases, non-Communist, are being refused permission to leave the New York district for vacation trips, contrary to previous procedure. Critics of the Justice Department's methods point out that such annoying by-products are only a sample of the dangerous precedents which it may establish.

IN THE GOMPERS' TRADITION

After nine months of what neutral observers had considered a lusty, effective and promising life, the United Labor Policy Committee appears to be heading for extinction.

The AFL Executive Council, in secret session in Montreal, recently voted to recommend the dissolution of the top-level partnership, which has enabled representatives of 15 million trade unionists to work jointly in dealing with defense problems. The recommendation will be taken to the AFL's national convention, scheduled for the week of September 17 in San Francisco, and approval is anticipated.

The executive-council action unquestionably surprised the other members of the partnership: the CIO, the Railway Labor Executives' Association and the International Association of Machinists. The latter two organizations are affiliated with the AFL but were not represented at the Montreal meeting.

CIO President Philip Murray had only recently extolled the work of the ULPC as "most constructive." During the Montreal meetings the IAM newspaper, *The Machinist*, carried a front-page editorial headlined, "Labor Unity Is Paying Off." However, after news of the executive-council action was broken by Louis Stark in the *New York Times*, an IAM spokesman would offer no comment other than to say, "We are affiliated with the AFL." Al Hayes, president of the IAM, played a major role in the creation of the ULPC, and he is known to feel strongly enough about its continuation to cause speculation as to his future actions.

The press has offered numerous explanations for the AFL move, most of which are true. A fact not generally recognized or admitted, however, and the recommendation is indicative of it, is that despite some positive steps such as the creation of Labor's League for Political Education, the top leadership of the AFL has not moved fundamentally from the political traditions of Samuel Gompers.

The drive to withdraw from the ULPC, significantly enough, was led by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, a strong advocate of labor unity. Meany, by his very position in the AFL, must be responsive to the dominant sentiment in the executive council. Although politically a Democrat, in the true Gompers' tradition he is opposed to any basic relationship with the Democratic Party and has been extremely critical of the CIO because of its ties to that party.

Through the months of close cooperation within the ULPC, the AFL and the CIO have each had their own interpretations of the role of the policy body, and these stem from the structures and histories of their respective organizations. The CIO actually considered the ULPC as a top echelon of the labor movement through which many differences and misunderstandings could be resolved and joint policy negotiated and carried down to the local unions. The AFL, on the other hand, treated the ULPC as strictly a means for giving labor a united voice on defense matters. With such conflicting interpretations, irritations were inevitable.

The organization of state and local ULPC groups, many extremely successful creations, was encouraged by the CIO and largely frowned upon by the national AFL. The conservative, pro-Republican wing of the Federation openly opposed them. Most AFL leaders considered their state federations and local central bodies as sufficient and when the national headquarters received letters from CIO co-chairmen of local ULPCs, it vexed many of the officials.

There has been a noticeable conservative swing in the AFL since the elections last November. In January, four AFL vice-presidents with definite Republican sympathies — Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters, William Hutcheson of the Carpenters, Charles McGowan of the Boilermakers and William McFetridge of the Building Service Employees— withheld their payments to the LLPE, supposedly due to concern over the role of the League, and to date have not contributed to the political education fund. Meany has proposed a compromise but no action has yet been taken. Meanwhile, the Montreal meeting voted to continue voluntary collections which, in themselves, cannot support the League and its program.

It is wholly possible that the AFL might support a Republican candidate for President next year, other than Senator Taft, if this trend continues. At the Montreal meeting a resolution was adopted warning both major parties not to take labor for granted and criticizing the Democrats in particular for the low calibre of their candidates. It urged their members to "sit out" future elections rather than support mediocre nominees.

DEFENSE HOUSING

The House has passed and sent to conference the defense-housing bill. Similar to the Wherry bill of last year which it resembles, it offers a bonanza to real-estate interests and private builders and, if the Wherry bill should be any criterion, it appears destined to result in few homes and those at outrageous costs.

The new bill is a diluted version of the plan requested by President Truman,

providing \$1.5 billion in federal mortgage insurance to encourage private construction of housing. The Administration requested \$3 billion for this purpose. If private builders fail to meet the need in 90 days, the bill authorizes federal housing construction up to \$50 million and community facilities up to \$60 million.

In another major housing decision, the House voted to raise its limit on public housing starts to 50,000 this fiscal year in contrast to its original ceiling of 5,000. The 50,000 equals the Senate figure but is still 25,000 below the President's request and 85,000 below the program contemplated in the Housing Act of 1949.

MONOPOLY ON THE MARCH

The Senate recently passed a so-called basing-point bill which would allow big business to tighten its stranglehold on the American economy.

The simplicity of the bill (S 719) belies the disastrous effects it would have in hamstringing the operation of competition. All it says is that any business can make a price discrimination if it is done in good faith to meet the equally low price of a competitor.

If the bill passes the House and is not vetoed by the President, monopolists will benefit in two ways:

1. The basing-point system of eliminating price competition (NR, February 13, 1950) will be legalized.
2. Chain stores can drive independent merchants out of business by getting unwarranted price concessions from suppliers and by local price cutting aimed at killing off neighborhood stores (NR, July 2, 1951). Thus the Robinson-Patman act, passed in 1936 to outlaw these practices, will become worthless.

Opponents of the bill, led by Kefauver (D, Tenn.), Long (D, La.) and Douglas (D, Ill.), despite defeat, were greatly encouraged. The fact that they mustered 10 votes more than on a similar measure passed last year, but vetoed by the President, indicated that the educational campaign they have been waging on this issue has had effect. Their strength added to the near certainty that

Truman would veto the bill again if necessary.

CLEANSING FOR STATEHOOD

HAWAII (NR corresp.)

A Hawaiian version of the general onslaught against civil liberties was written recently when Democratic Gov. Oren Long, a recent appointee, placed his signature on four new loyalty bills which, seemingly, make English common law appear both subversive and foreign.

One of the bills sets up a loyalty board with unprecedented investigative powers over all public employees, elective or appointive, from garbage collector to school superintendent. Employees may be dismissed for "reasonable doubt" of loyalty and there can be no appeal from decisions of the loyalty board to any court for reinstatement or for financial claims. There may be retrial by the same board. Employees' personal histories must be filed by December 31, 1951, and failure to file or perjury in the statement means dismissal.

Another bill provides for the dismissal of employees who refuse to testify regarding the qualifications of any employees on the grounds that their answers would tend to incriminate them. Somehow, the bills escaped public attention until the last day of the legislative session. When 220 University of Hawaii faculty members signed a petition opposing the bills, they received a dressing down from Chairman Edward Sylva of the Commission on Subversive Activities. The Senate voted to reconsider the bills, but a move to reconsider, supported by House Democrats, was overridden by the Republican majority. Later 21 Protestant ministers protested against the signing of the bills by Governor Long.

Sponsors of the bill contended that failure to take decisive action against Communism would show that Hawaii was unworthy of statehood, but many liberals are finding it difficult to escape the conclusion that the issue on which the loyalty bills are centered is neither statehood nor Communism but who is going to control the Islands' politics, economy and education.

Outside America

SURVIVALISM IN ITALY

For the first time in Italian history, a woman has become a member of the government with cabinet rank. Signora Angela Maria Guidi-Cingolani, 56 years old, a veteran of Don Sturzo's old Catholic Popular Party, and a stalwart of Alcide de Gasperi's even more clerical Christian Democratic Party, has been named Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, in charge of the Handicraft Department.

The presence of a woman in the Cabinet would be a more meaningful symbol of progress toward modern democratic practice if Signora Guidi-Cingolani had been named on her own merits—personal, political or both. In fact, she was brought into the government by de Gasperi as part of a process of mass-production of Cabinet members, patently intended to prevent an inner crumbling of the Christian Democratic Party by throwing positions of power (which in Italy means the chance to make money) to all of the party's factions and fractions.

Similarly, the ability of de Gasperi to form his seventh consecutive government might be taken as a sign of Italian continuity and stability—contrasting with French instability and gratifying to Americans concerned with frustrating the Kremlin's possible designs on Western Europe—if the Premier had not overridden the most elementary democratic processes in his effort to survive at any cost.

At the recent local elections, the greatest gains were made by the fellow-traveling Socialists led by Pietro Nenni and by Palmiro Togliatti's Communists. The *missini*—the neo-Fascists of the Italian Social Movement, MSI—and the Monarchists also gained. All the parties between the extremes of Left and Right lost; and the greatest losses were those of the Christian Democrats.

It was obvious after the elections that the most urgent need—if Italy was to keep her place effectively in the Atlantic system—was to stop the trend toward the extremes of anti-democracy, both of which in different ways have declared themselves to be anti-Atlanticist. It was equally obvious that the forces of democracy would have to accept full and clear responsibility for making a strong bid to cope with doubts that were causing more and more Italians to turn away from democracy.

Premier de Gasperi was given an opportunity in the crisis that brought down his sixth Cabinet, a crisis within the Christian Democratic Party on the issue of antedated capitalism as represented by Giuseppe Pella against the modern capitalism of greater production and social reforms, which was also a duel between American Ambassador James Dunn and ECA Minister Leon Dayton (NR, August 6). But he threw away the opportunity, gave Pella even more power than before and packed his Cabinet with members of his own party. The price the people will pay for de Gasperi's party peace will be the need to buy "influence" in order to get the simplest things done. Only the extremes of Left and Right can profit. A newspaper as conservative and reputable as *Il Giornale* of Naples points out:

A crisis, which should have been resolved in Parliament in terms of democratic practices and constitutional norms, was in fact settled within the organisms of a single party behind closed doors. The attitude of the Christian Democratic Party conflicts with its claim to be the only firm bulwark of democracy against the extremes. The method of solving the crisis did not help the Constitution, nor did it provide that education and democracy which should be fundamental for a young republic.

The leaders of the Liberal Party (which is conservative) and of the anti-Communist Socialists refused to play any part in de Gasperi's "solution." They called it a blow to the party system, an affront to intelligent public opinion, and a violation of the Constitution. But the Christian Democrats, who can afford to be "survivalist" because the American policy represented

by Dunn strongly supports them in the name of stability, readily admit that the Constitution has been violated and that the government has resorted to "old [Fascist] laws not compatible with the spirit of a modern democratic regime." The *Messaggero* of Rome, a leading *democristiano* organ, says:

The written Constitution cannot be the whole Constitution of the Republic. It contains too many things and cannot therefore be put into effect quickly and fully. . . . It was adopted at a time of crisis, and must now be adjusted to usages, habits, political conditions and even the collective state of mind. The problem of the defense of Italian liberty, indeed, of the making of Italian liberty, goes beyond the pure and simple actuation of a written document.

Nenni, who because of his party's gains at the local elections is now of equal political rank and influence with de Gasperi and Togliatti, is already calling for immediate general elections. The Christian Democrats will of course prevent them. But the problem is whether the conduct of the majority party will conform to the recent pattern of "survivalism" or whether it will—while there still is time—use truly democratic means of cutting down the vote of the extremists of Left and Right, already nearly half the whole electorate.

Just three years ago, I suggested in the columns of the *New Republic* that de Gasperi was heading for a choice between becoming an Italian Franco or an Italian Salazar. He has in fact become a variety of Salazar but whereas the Portuguese dictator can force out of the field the opponents of his puppet President, de Gasperi has between eight and nine million Communist voters to contend with. If democracy means for him mass-producing Cabinet members, he may yet pave the way for an Italian Franco.

The tragedy of such a possibility, as the result of de Gasperi's seventh government, presents itself with special force at the place where these lines are being written, for it was here at Salerno, just eight years ago; that the armed forces of democracy made their first landings on the mainland of Europe.

Salerno

PERCY WINNER

HARD GOING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

ONE OF THE tough problems with which the Economic and Social Council of the UN will have to come to grips is what to do with the project for an "international Bill of Rights" prepared by the Human Rights Commission, long headed by Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt (who is still the US representative) and now by Dr. Charles Malik, Ambassador of Lebanon at Washington.

Three choices face the Council: to send the document in its present incompleting form on to the General Assembly for action this fall, to finish the job itself, or to call an emergency meeting of the Commission to wind up what five weeks of debate in Geneva this spring could not accomplish.

The Council is most likely to ask the General Assembly to complete the document. The Assembly has already shown interest in it, and is empowered to revise the work of its subsidiary agencies. Whatever the obstacles, heavy pressure will be brought on the Assembly to finish up and submit to the member countries for ratification a human-rights covenant that has been four years in preparation.

There are qualified observers of the human-rights labors of the past four years who doubt whether any widely acceptable international Bill of Rights can be written in the present state of the world. There are others who would write one acceptable to only a few States as a starter, in the hope that its influence would grow.

Another group would give up the effort to write a covenant now, and concentrate on getting the General Assembly to require reports from all member States on how they are handling human rights. This action might include a provision that complaints from any source should be received and examined concerning failures to live up to the clauses of the Charter protecting human rights.

Whatever course is followed in the Assembly, the Economic and Social Council will have before it a document covering almost a hundred different articles. They are still only roughly put together; yet they constitute the first attempt in the world's history to create international guarantees of human rights to all the peoples of those nations which may sign. The document was produced in what was hopefully planned to be the final session devoted to this subject last spring by the Human Rights Commission.

by Roger Baldwin

For four years I have been closely associated with the UN's efforts to put human rights into workable forms of law—but Geneva was my first endurance test for a whole session. On May 19, after five weeks of day-long sessions in a United Nations Conference Hall in Geneva, the 18 exhausted spokesmen of as many governments, represented in the Commission, broke up—still far from their goal of finishing an international Bill of Rights for the October General Assembly. Too much free speech swamped them.

A long table down the center of the hall was reserved for the non-governmental consultants—the "NGO's" (of whom I was one). They turned out in unprecedented numbers because of the decisive final action expected from a Commission under instructions from the General Assembly to hand in a finished Bill of Rights. Some 60 representatives of more than 30 international agencies attended the sessions, with a score showing up daily. Most regular and numerous were the spokesmen for the trade unions, the religious agencies and the women's organizations. We have had informal "ad hoc" cooperation—with almost unanimous determination on one major issue, namely, to get into the Bill of Rights the simple right of action on petitions by those claiming denial of their liberties.

We lost that fight, which we kept up till the decisive vote was taken May 18. We were licked seven to 10, with one abstention. The majority held that only governments should have the right to bring complaints that some other government which signs the Bill of Rights isn't living up to it. Though the whole "covenant," as it is called, guarantees all sorts of rights to individuals, yet no individual will have the right to make any complaint, and no organization can do it for him. Nothing less than direct access to the United Nations by people with just grievances can possibly lead to an advance toward the international realization of human rights.

Of course, action through governments won't work. No government which signs such a covenant is going to hale another one before an international tribunal. But so great is the fear of overriding national sovereignty by allowing individuals or organizations to appeal above national courts to an international body, that all the "great powers" lined up solidly against it—the US, Britain and France along with the Soviet Union and Nationalist China. India led the "little" countries' vote for our side.

But the issue isn't dead. Practically every one of the

Roger Baldwin, former director of the American Civil Liberties Union, is now chairman of its national committee.

non-governmental agencies agreed to carry on the fight to get the General Assembly to reverse the Commission and to start immediate lobbying to accomplish it.

The Commission tackled other issues, and some were settled to general satisfaction. It adopted a whole platform of economic, social and cultural rights, which look fine on paper, and will have the encouragement of reports to the United Nations, scrutiny, and recommendations for reforms and improvement. Three and a half of the five weeks of the session were spent on them, because they are new and different from civil and political rights, because adjustments had to be made with the International Labor Office, UNESCO and other special UN agencies handling these rights, and because they involve conflicting claims to rights by the Western democracies and the Soviet states.

The US reversed her position of a year ago and came out for setting out these rights, but not in the same document with civil and political rights. Yet to put them into a separate document suggests not only that they are different from these other rights, but of secondary importance. To the US delegation it doubtless also meant that the Senate would not ratify any such rights—and the Senate's ominous shadow hung over many of the delegation's positions.³ But fortunately the US stand for a separate document had only four supporters, so these rights go into one covenant.

A pretty good system of handling complaints of violations of rights was set up—only there won't be any complaints. A committee of experts is to be appointed by the International Court of Justice from nominees suggested by the States which sign up. It will have power to inquire, conciliate if it can, and get advisory opinions from the Court. That's about as far as any machinery can be expected to go in the present experimental state of the UN.

Among major items left undone after five weeks was the redrafting of the civil and political rights defined a year ago, which have a lot of gaps in them; consideration of how far federal States can bind their constituent parts to a covenant (a crucial question for the US); and what reservations signatory States may be allowed to make; and a US proposal for handling private petitions through a quite separate document which States might or might not ratify. The NGO's were almost all resolutely against this separate document, but the Commission gave us no chance even to discuss it.

It is true of course that a worse time could hardly have been selected to write the world law of the future for human rights. There is, as Chairman Malik put it, a "lack of mutual confidence" among States. There is also the cold war, which was often in evidence in sharp exchanges with the Russians. And there is the conse-

quent low stock of the United Nations. Even so, the debates have run on a pretty high level of fidelity to principles; all conceivable rights were examined from all sides, reflecting a universal awareness of their basic importance, despite conflicting East-West interpretations.

As a technical drafting body following general instructions of the Assembly, all 18 members considered every word of the flood of proposals, redrafts and amendments submitted. Big and little points got equal attention. When I was absent briefly one day, I inquired of a colleague on my return what had happened. "Oh," he said, "a great victory was won. They got in two commas and defeated a semi-colon." No limit on length or frequency of speeches was imposed by the affable chairman. Only once, when the delegates got bored with repetitious arguments, was debate closed, and then they took an hour to explain how they were going to vote! Once the Russian delegate, a witty lawyer with a deadpan face, spoke up to observe that if anybody woke him up in the middle of the night he could reel off all the speeches that would be made on any point.

The Soviet Union will not of course sign any covenant that gives the United Nations any right to pry into her affairs, and therefore opposes all "implementation." But there is among other nations a fear that Communists in many countries will play the Soviet game by taking advantage of any machinery for private petitions—one of the unspoken arguments against it. It seems an unwarranted fear in view of the discretion which would be given any enforcement agency to reject any petition.

Perhaps it's not fair to complain of the Commission's methods in the light of the complicated tasks of a pioneering legal job. Some of the secretariat observed that this session has been more business-like than most, and less afflicted with politics. Even so, I am impressed with the need of procedural reform. It would seem so easy to schedule the big items for decision first and then work out details through working groups. As one labor NGO representative said, even tough negotiations between an employer and a union are handled better.

Despite the cautions of the Commission, the fight for a workable international Bill of Rights is not without hope in this year's Assembly. It has in the past done excellent drafting on its own. The smaller nations in it have more influence and determination than the "great powers" who have tended to color the Commission's work, not directly, but through the general assumption that a covenant not ratified by the leading democracies could not be successful in operation. Like the genocide convention, which came into effect through ratification by the small states, it looks as if leadership for an international Bill of Rights must now develop among them.

DISPERSAL: BOLD NEW PROGRAM?

IT WAS during the middle of a day of heated debate on the Defense Production Act that Rep. Horace Seely-Brown, a former prep-school teacher now legislating for the second district of Connecticut, rose from his seat, looked at his colleagues from the South and West and gave it to them right between the eyes. "The blows struck at New England's industrial power by sectionally-minded politicians, backed by greedy supporters in their home bailiwicks," he charged, "go back very far in our history—back at least to the War of 1812." His voice shook with indignation. "No accusation has been too false, no legislative subterfuge too daring to be tried by covetous-minded neighbors from other sections." It had been a tough fight, but "the threats have been beaten off by sheer logic, vigorously and ardently wielded by the Connecticut delegation in Congress."

What had ired Seely-Brown and almost every other member of the New England delegation that day was the so-called Rains amendment, which would have required defense officials to scatter new government-aided industries distant from present congested industrial areas. It was not a strictly sectional issue—since even New England has some industrially underdeveloped areas—but it was construed as such by most of the urban Representatives in the House.

Edith Nourse Rogers, who considers herself the mother-protector of all veterans, typified the tone of the debate when she declared: "You do not think that the veterans we sent into World War II will ever condone the Wallace Plan set before us today." She was referring in part to an ambitious report put out by the Resettlement Administration in the middle of the New Deal, and told how Wallace had once said to her that it would be a good idea to make New England the country's recreational area. "I am sure the gentleman from Alabama," she appealed, "does not want to carry out the plan of Mr. Henry Wallace."

But the debate showed that "principles" had little power when pitted against solid, dollar-and-cents economic interests. Two liberal Congressmen who were among the host of Fair Dealers to vote against the measure were sarcastically welcomed by an old-line Republican "into the ranks of those who favor a free economy." But the "old school" found its own lines holding no more solidly. Rep. Kenneth Keating of Rochester, N. Y., where Gannett newspapers nurture faith in laissez-faire, had little luck when he appealed for support from "my good friends from the South and West, whom I know,

by **A. J. Heidenheimer**

as the result of many talks, to hold the same basic philosophy as I do." Keating

did get a helping hand from Rep. Philip Philbin, a Massachusetts Democrat, who declared that "the amendment reaches a new high in demonstrating the futility and impracticality of so-called national planning."

Frazier Reams of Toledo, the only member of the House not affiliated with any party, came closest to making a realistic case for the industrial areas. "We could produce oranges in Ohio," he said, "if we spent enough money to do it. . . . We have been changing the nature of many things. But when we come to dealing with matters as complex as the basic requisites under which modern industry can operate efficiently, we dare not meddle with economic principles." But Reams did not specify whose economic principles he was talking about.

It was surprising to see how many advocates of social and economic planning had been masquerading as conservative Southerners or reactionary Republicans. Thus it took a young Alabamian, Carl Elliott, to provide the key to the debate:

You know it seems to me a sort of game in this country for us to charge those who disagree with us about anything of any economic or social implication with being socialistic. . . . I see no socialism about this amendment. Instead I see self-preservation.

Actually, the House debate was little more than a tempest in a teapot. The Rains amendment had little concrete meaning since it did not give the Administration any powers it did not already have under the broad powers of the Defense Production Act. The amendment was rather a reflection of widespread criticism of the way in which production specialists in the Defense Production Administration have ignored long-range strategic and economic planning in allocating new industries. This criticism had been given focus in a staff report of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress which had in turn been suggested by complaints from development officials in the South and other "new" industrial regions that DPA policies had caused a virtual stoppage in new industrial locations in their sections.

Upon examination of the situation the Senate committee found that the National Production Administration, which controls new industrial construction through its grants of amortization allowances and certificates of necessity, had tended to give first priority to the old areas on the principle of "expanding existing capacity first." Thus the 14 Northeastern states had by last May 7

been authorized to build 81 percent of the new iron and steel capacity and 76 percent of all new aircraft plants. Why, asked the committee in its report, had not the Defense Production Administration given greater attention to the principle of dispersal?

The Senate study suggests that the DPA is wasting an opportunity to effect a dispersal program which is desirable from both a strategic and economic point of view. The DPA has encouraged large oil and chemical developments in Texas and Louisiana and has directed large industrial building into the Rocky Mountain area, but it has failed to take advantage of such factors as the historical agricultural underemployment in the Southeast. The region from Florida to Maryland, in fact, received a much smaller share of manufacturing plants since the defense effort started than it did in the immediate post-World War II period. Only 24 percent of its proposed building and investment applications were approved up to May 7, 1951, whereas 60 percent of New England applications were accepted in that time. Similarly only 18 percent of the upper Mississippi area's applications had been ratified, compared to 45 percent of those from the Middle Atlantic states.

Such concrete facts as these played little part in the House debate on dispersal. By playing on broad regional prejudices, the opponents of the Rains amendment managed to defeat it, 174 to 79. The controversy stirred up by this and by the Joint Committee report impressed the White House, however. The President was persuaded to rescue from oblivion the planners and principles of the National Security Resources Board, which had almost been lost in constant reshuffling of administrative agencies. On August 10, Truman issued an order to the DPA and other defense agencies which, in effect, told them to get on with dispersal. The order was couched in strictly strategic terms, but its execution will produce changes in the economic and social complexion of a number of regions.

These changes will not be radical. They will probably only hasten general geographic trends which have been in progress for some time. Industrial dispersal will no more result in "robbing" New England than the past decades' pattern of industrial change was the result of "greedy" or "covetous" manipulation. A recent study by the National Planning Association of the South's postwar industrial development shows that only three of 88 plants surveyed were "relocations." Eighty-three of them were newly constructed branch plants of well-established concerns. Why were they located in the South? The report on the new Sterling Drug Company plant built in Gulfport, Miss., which employs 100 workers to make Phillips Milk of Magnesia is typical:

The company needed additional capacity and decided to construct a new plant rather than extend their old plant in Connecticut in order to save transport costs and provide better service to Southern and Western markets, and to provide a safety factor against any possible interruption in operations.

Similar factors influenced companies whose products were orientated toward the industrial market. The American Can Company decided to build a new plant at Fort Smith, Ark., because "of the rapid growth of the canning of local spinach, tomatoes and green beans." The Armstrong Cork Company decided to build a bottle-cap plant in Dallas, Texas, because "prior to the establishment of the new plant, considerable backhaul was involved in transporting the tin plate to Lancaster, Pa., the company's only bottle-cap plant, and then transporting the bottle caps to the Southwest and other areas."

Do the conditions of a sustained defense economy pose different goals than those of peace-time expansion? That was the question facing the President and other policy-makers. The answer of almost all economists is that, if anything, they tend to emphasize the need for dispersal. In addition to obvious strategic advantages, industrial location in new areas will make use of labor and other potentials which might otherwise remain untapped. Recent defense policies which in the words of the Joint Committee's report "have tended to add to rather than to relieve existing industrial concentration," flow from the false premise that the job is only to boost arms production within the next year or so.

The dispersal policy announced by the NSRB at the President's behest is an improvement, but it is timid and technical. Its main point is to suggest that new factories should not be built within 10 miles of existing large plants. Its points of reference are basically strategic and give little play to the social factors suggested by the Joint Committee. That is not to say that industrial dispersal cannot become a policy which is imaginative in more than just the strategic realm. For the expansion of safe productive facilities should be only the minimum function of the defense effort. By utilizing such policies as dispersal to improve the total economic-social complex of the country more positive good can be accomplished.

It is somewhat hopeful, but not quite Utopian, to suggest that dispersal can mean long-range improvement for many groups and areas in the country; the rewards would by no means be limited to the South or other "new areas." There are underdeveloped industrial areas in industrial regions, just as there are in agricultural belts. Both could benefit from a far-sighted policy. An expanded industry can be guided

(Continued on page 23)

HEARST THE HELL RAISER

THE old Senator's boy was always a hell raiser. He raised hell at Harvard, until he and that staid institution parted company with mutual relief. He began to raise hell in the newspaper business as soon as he got his hands on the moribund San Francisco *Examiner*, a disregarded mouldering small item in his father's multi-million-dollar holdings. He went on raising hell, in many different ways, to the moment of his death, a few days ago.

People used to say, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*—speak only good of the dead. But this does not apply to potentates, of whom this publisher was certainly one. If he was not the most influential owner of newspapers and magazines who ever lived, he came close to deserving that title. His readers ran up into many millions; and he touched the lives of many millions more, with his news services, syndicates, newsreels and movies.

For a long time, it was the fashion to picture him as a man of little influence in spite of his vast circulations, his empire worth, at its peak, a fifth of a billion dollars or more. People argued that when he ran for office, he did not do very well, achieving only two terms in the House of Representatives; that in New York, he usually failed when he opposed Tammany; that some of the causes for which he fought hard, such as belligerence toward Mexico or England, failed. It was a standing joke to say that Hearst readers couldn't read, that they only looked at the pictures and ignored the editorials.

But these opinions were almost certainly wrong. A publisher can wield enormous influence on people without using an editorial page at all, simply by slanting and coloring his news pages, by leaving things out, or by giving other things more space than they deserve. Careful tests made by skilled sociologists have shown that readers of Hearst and of other publishers on the same level display a strong tendency to agree with the opinions of the paper they read, even though they "never look at the editorials." True, a Hearst cannot reverse a powerful tendency, like that of the Roosevelt New Deal; but he can do much to accelerate a conservative tide. The old man himself, I am sure, would have been glad to take some of the credit for the reaction and obscurantism of the last three Congresses.

Hearst did not invent sensational popular journalism, any more than Ford invented the automobile era. If he hadn't done it, someone else would have come along, and in fact did so: Joseph Pulitzer, to name only one. Yet no one should deny that Hearst had an unequaled genius for the practice of vulgarity—which is harder to perform

by Bruce Bliven

successfully than it seems, as many publishers have ruefully come to realize.

This country might have been worse off if Hearst had had really strong convictions and clung to them. There is no evidence that he ever cared very deeply about anything except being Hearst and having a lot of fun and activity. It is true that he began as something of a liberal, advocating woman suffrage, the direct election of Senators and municipal ownership of public utilities, and wound up an arch-conservative who fought the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations every inch of the way. Yet you had a feeling that he was an opportunist conservative as he had been an opportunist liberal. He wanted to be, like God, on the side of the big battalions, as from time to time he judged that side to be.

Great as was the fun of being a millionaire publisher, he took equal pleasure in being a millionaire patron of the arts. Everybody knows how he bought and bought and bought, the good, the mediocre and (when he ignored the advice of the professional experts) the terrible. He bought whole warehousesful, much of which he never laid eyes on—including a complete castle from Wales which lay for a long time in a series of vast packing-boxes on the grounds at his fabulous San Simeon estate in California.

Finally, when the great depression clamped down, his reckless buying threatened the whole empire, and they had to stop him. In 1937 a committee was set up to reorganize and economize. Hearst was cut down from his drawing account of \$400,000 a year (which he had always blandly exceeded) to a mere \$100,000 that he was not allowed to exceed. And this fact answers the question of those who inquire what will become of the Hearst empire now. The answer is that it will go on pretty much as it has for the past 14 years.

A few of his personal eccentricities will drop out of his papers, including, one hopes, his unbelievable anti-vivisection campaign, which has done great harm to the cause of scientific research in this country. In general, however, Hearstism has become increasingly a formula which any bright, young journalism graduate could memorize and apply. Since the committee members are on the whole as conservative as was the old man himself, his press will undoubtedly continue along very much the present course. It will be true in the future as it has been in the past that this is far too much power to be allowed to concentrate in the hands of any individual—or any casually collected private committee.

RUSSIA'S FEET OF CLAY

A TOP-LEVEL exchange of intelligence between Washington and London indicates that a frightened Soviet Union will make a dramatic "peace bid" or tumble the world into war within six weeks.

The report details Soviet fears of revolt within the Cominform, obsolescence of military equipment and encirclement by superior forces. Secretary of State Dean Acheson has privately informed President Truman that he believes Russia will tip her hand at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco on September 4. The Pentagon believes it possible that war might break out either in Germany or by an attack on Yugoslavia this fall. The British say that the chance of war is remote but that the anti-Cominform nations can expect a persuasive "peace" bid.

Russia may be close to making a great decision. The Soviet Union has casually and unofficially suggested to Latin American diplomats, whom they consider as "American satellite" officers, that the US and the USSR sit down together and reach a basic agreement. The offers were relayed both at Moscow and at the United Nations in New York. One top US official who knows of these proposals explains them thus:

The Cominform propaganda proposal for a Big-Five peace meeting of the US, Russia, Communist China, France and England is all window dressing. Gromyko, for one, has made it quite plain in private conversations that the United States and Russia can get off in a corner and carve the world up into Cominform and anti-Cominform zones. This explains, too, the hand of friendship extended in the new Soviet publication by former Ambassador Troyanovsky. Russia, with her peculiar ability to look at the rest of the world as she looks at herself, dismisses all other nations except the US and the USSR as "satellites" of the two conflicting empires. The United States, of course, has ignored these notes slipped under the door.

Reports continue of the massing of reorganized, purged and Russian-controlled Balkan armies on the Yugoslav border—massing is said to be so complete that medical units, usually the last to be called, are in place.

Secretary Acheson offered the National Security Council an explanation in which the British join, and made a prediction. He said the troop massing, the bickering and stalemate at the Korean truce table, and the ominous threats from the Cominform are all a lever to force

by **Tris Coffin**

major concessions when the "peace" bid is finally made. He expects a continued stalemate in Korea until a proposal is made at San Francisco. The major fears of the Kremlin are listed in the intelligence estimates of Washington and London as follows:

The Kremlin has an almost hysterical fear of a re-armed Germany and Japan. This is a traditional Russian fear and goes far back into Tsarist history. Every "peace feeler" made to the United States says that Germany and Japan must be "neutralized." Today, Russia has plainly indicated that peace in Asia—a truce in Korea and withdrawal of some 200,000 Chinese troops now on the Indo-Chinese border—can be obtained only by stripping Japan of military power. The Joint Chiefs of Staff today regard Germany and Japan as "hot" areas that may be subjected to sudden air and sea attacks. The theory is that Russia might strike before these traditional enemies regain their World War II military strength.

Second, the ring of American air bases around the Soviet Union, when completed, will effectively inhibit Russian aggression in any direction. For example, the Soviet does not dare attack the Middle East because the Baku oil fields which supply more than half the oil for Russia are within easy range of American bombers. The fact that these bases are not completed and ready with roaring planes is again a reason why Russia might strike this year before the ring is completed.

Third, General Bradley made the point at a closed hearing of the House Armed Services Committee that if Russia expects to use her World War II basic equipment in war, she must go to war this year or next. Obsolescence and the rapid pace of Atlantic Pact rearmament will alter the slight edge of Russian superiority to date. If she puts off war this year or next, Bradley estimated the Soviet Union will not be able to fight a major war for five years. The British are confident that the ruling five of the Kremlin, dominated by the cautious Stalin, will trade for time rather than attack now. Only two of the quintet are reported to be even mildly for a "fight now" policy.

Fourth, the anti-Communist economic blockade is pinching Russia painfully. Such basic materials as oil, steel and various ores are not available despite grabs from the satellites and from civilian needs.

Fifth, the Soviets fear that revolution or at least passive resistance will develop on a large scale within Russia. Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, the noted British military authority, wrote recently: "The truth is that the USSR

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is a giant with feet of clay, and it is for that reason and not because of the atomic bomb that the Kremlin is loath to risk an aggressive physical war. . . . It is not the atomic bomb but the idea of freedom which can triumph over Bolshevism. Russia's most feared enemy is within and not without."

There is much evidence in the Soviet press and radio of widespread dissension. A stern *Pravda* editorial within the last two weeks admitted "serious defects" in Communist Party organization. Collective farms are in disorder because of lack of replacement parts for machinery. In one farm area the unheard of practice of hiring three-fourths of the labor from outside was adopted because the local labor "evaporated" rather than work on the farm. Bands of Russians are said to roam the countryside almost like animals. Both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* continually criticize party leadership for "apathy," which reflects the weariness and lack of inspiration of the people as a whole.

More important, if true, is a report from both Turkish and Yugoslav intelligence that a purge equaling the mass purges of 1937-38 is going on at present within the USSR. Areas especially hit, according to these reports, are in Southern and Eastern Russia.

Sixth, there are signs that the Russo-Chinese Communist Pact may fall apart. A majority of Mao Tse-tung's own generals are openly resentful that China was dragged into the Korean War and is not being given the support promised by the USSR. Mao was brought into Korea only after long and protracted arguments with Molotov in Moscow and Mukden. The price he demanded was a free hand in Asia, Soviet guns and planes, and immediate construction of major north-south and east-west railroads. China was not supplied the planes and tanks promised and now is being asked by the Kremlin to withdraw from Korea at a time when she has suffered a defeat. According to intelligence sources, Mao has insisted that Russia provide the arms for one major and crippling attack on the allies before China pulls out, for "face." For the last three weeks, Chinese Communist propaganda has scrupulously avoided the lavish praise of the Soviet and Stalin featured during the last year.

The British, who have the closest ties with Mao, report that Peking is having its own troubles maintaining order within the vastness of China. Within recent months, some 200,000 soldiers en route to Korea have deserted. Guerrilla bands, which Russia claims are being supplied by the US, are harassing the Communist authorities in South China and in the mountainous areas inland. Great Britain does not expect Mao to be so belligerent in his defiance as Tito, but rather to express his

opposition in an Oriental negativism to Soviet pressures.

Seventh, Russia is facing mounting dissension within the European Cominform. The combination of stunned paralysis and hope in Eastern Europe, reports say, has been followed by bitter disillusionment and the beginnings of organized resistance. Main-line Soviet trains linking Moscow with the empire are constantly sabotaged. Russian grain collections are far under the quotas because the peasants are holding back supplies, and partisans are burning warehouses. Country by country, the signs of unrest include:

Bulgaria: On orders from Russia, 200 top Communist Party leaders have been arrested on grounds of "treason." Two undergrounds, those of the Agrarian Party and Free Bulgarian Society, boast of links into the government. The Bulgarian press is full of angry criticisms of "kulak laxity . . . plunder . . . sabotage."

Hungary: Vital coal production is way down because, as an official order stated, of "the laxity of working discipline." Miners are staging a boycott. Steel shipments from the Ordu smelter to Russia have been sabotaged.

Albania: Recent escapees to Yugoslavia claim that the population is starving and in a state of siege, and that nine out of 10 soldiers in the army would escape across the border if they could.

Poland: A *Pravda* editorial directed at Poland said a few days ago, "By means of espionage, sabotage, terror and plotting they [the Western World] are trying to turn the People's Democracies backwards. . . . A number of anti-government plots organized by imperialist intelligence services with the aid of Tito's Fascist clique have been discovered lately [in Poland]." Molotov's speech in Warsaw was a warning to the Poles that they would be slaughtered if they attempted to revolt. British intelligence estimates the unarmed underground is larger than during the Nazi occupation.

East Germany: The Soviet's desperate attempt to organize a loyal East German army and youth force has been a great flop and has badly undermined the loyalty of the Red Army. Russians are strictly prohibited from social intercourse with Germans, but, despite this and the heavily guarded frontier, the desertion of Soviet citizens to the West from Germany continues on a large scale. A poll taken this spring in Eastern Germany revealed that the West German radio, RIAS, was seven times more popular than any other transmitter. Eighty-three percent of those polled listened to RIAS exclusively for news.

All these problems have created a tension within the Soviet Communist hierarchy, which, the intelligence exchanges predict, will result in either war or a new "peace" proposal.

HAROLD L. ICKES: *The Big Steal in Oil*

JOSEPH M. Patterson, late of the *New York News*, as a Socialist youth wrote a book entitled *A Little Brother of the Rich*. It was a story of a man whose attitude toward wealth was that of a bootlicking sycophant. If Mr. Patterson were still alive and had even a remnant left of the social conscience that made him a maverick in the Patterson-McCormick family of Chicago from which he sprang, he could write another book about the rich oil men of the country by merely changing his earlier title to that of "Little Brothers of the Rich."

The Walter Bill (HR 4484) would surrender to the oil interests, without compensation, rich offshore oil lands that the Supreme Court has held belong to all of the people. A more descriptive name would be "The Big Steal Bill." If this bill passes the Senate and survives the expected veto of President Truman, it will effect the greatest steal in history. It will vest in the coastline states title to offshore oil, as well as to other minerals. To an irreparable injury to his record, Speaker Sam Rayburn helped to ram the Walter bill through the House. The fact that Congress on other occasions has allowed the heritage of the people to be stolen and has even cheered on some of the steals will not serve him as a defense. Under the preterse of "states' rights," favored states will grab federal offshore lands that have never belonged to them. Despite which, California, Louisiana and Texas in the past gave squatter rights in the form of *null and void* leases to trespassers who have grown rich on oil that belonged to all of the people.

In order to aid education which so badly needs it, Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama has offered an amendment to Senate Resolution No. 20, introduced by Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, which would make the revenue from these oil lands available to all of the states on an equitable pro-rata basis. However, there are too many "little brothers of the rich" in Congress to make this an easy task. Political connivers and pay-as-you-go lobbyists stampeded the House by a campaign of misrepresentation and defamation and are now trying to do the same to the Senate. The lobbyists engaged in this scandalous deal are those hired by the oil, gas and private-power interests, aided and abetted by the notorious Association of State Attorneys General. Conspicuous among these connivers are Rep. Francis Walter and the rich Oklahoman, Sen. Robert Kerr. Working the same side of the street are lawyers in both Houses who have represented oil or gas interests in the past.

Senator Kerr and his colleagues who have substantial investments in oil or gas, or who profit indirectly from

such interests, should disqualify themselves when such a bill as HR 4484 is before them. To the contrary, they use the facilities of both the Senate and House in a "the people be damned" spirit, to work for their own private profit on time paid for by the people. A member of the executive branch, if he is scrupulous as the overwhelming number are, would not pass on a question that might mean financial loss or gain to himself. An honorable judge of any court, local, state or federal, would automatically disqualify himself if there came before him for trial or decision a question involving a personal pecuniary interest, or relating to a client or a business with which, before becoming a judge, he had a personal or professional connection.

Unfortunately, in the absence of a law on the subject, it is left to the consciences of members of Congress whether to disqualify themselves in passing on legislation that might add to their personal wealth. And consciences are sometimes in hock to greed. It will be remembered that Senator Kerr, in the 80th Congress, introduced a gas bill which would have augmented his already great wealth. Kerr, doubtless with tongue in cheek, is promoting the proposed tidelands steal under the pretense that "states' rights" are involved, as if a "national wrong" could be transmuted into a "state right."

Did Mr. Kerr go to Washington to serve the people, or did he go to make more money in oil and gas from his coign of vantage in the Senate? Here is something that might interest Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois and his subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee which has been peering here and there for a code of public morals, to which federal officials might adhere. But probably Senator Douglas and his associates would hesitate to embarrass a fellow member of The Club by asking him to reconcile his concept of official ethics, whatever it may be, with his activity in behalf of bills that would increase his private fortune. Nor is this necessary. The people are already taking cognizance of Senator Kerr's activities and attitudes. They are already raising their eyebrows at a man conspicuously serving mammon while vaunting his religiosity. They are finding it difficult to understand his undermining of the Supreme Court, under the pretense of defending "states' rights." To them his leadership in the "no holds barred" fight to take from them, without compensation, great wealth that is theirs does not harmonize with the Sermon on the Mount, which is the highest and purest expression of Christianity.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

IN THE ROAR OF THE PRESENT

"I'M JUST the core of the onion—nothing at all," says the hero of one of William Carlos Williams' plays. Good poetry usually finds a center and starting point in some immediacy: a direct statement, a narrative or dramatic moment, a concrete image or emotion. Dr. Williams' immediacies (and he is our master of the spontaneous effect) are so often colored by his unpretentious humanity that he seems almost to be improvising, as if he were not one of the very few really accomplished poets in English today:

To make a start,
out of particulars
and make them general, rolling
up the sum, by defective means—
sniffing the trees,
just another dog
among a lot of dogs . . .

Well, that is one way to begin an epic poem! And yet, in a sense it is the only way if the poet is to keep himself as free as possible of sentimental and purely literary assumptions while exploring the meanings of his own time and place—"the roar, / the roar of the present, a speech— / is of necessity, my sole concern." *Paterson* is not "strictly" an epic, but a long poem in four parts. (That is its first unpretentiousness.) Structurally, it is loose though not uncontrolled. The poet takes a specific locality in New Jersey and personifies its geography, sociology and history, identifying himself both as just one of the many inhabitants and as the sensibility and consciousness of the area. Readers of his novels and short stories will agree that Williams knows its life. As a local doctor and baby specialist, he has come closer to the people than any other of our poets—far closer than Sandburg, for instance—and the knowledge he must grapple with is simply too intractable to allow of easy triumphs or solutions.

Williams, as has been said often enough, is a pragmatic thinker. ("No

by M. L. Rosenthal

ideas," he writes, "but in things.") At the same time and like other pragmatists, he is a mystic—at any rate, a would-be mystic. In *Paterson* we see writ large the kind of human-ecological mysticism that a few scientists have been toying with recently. The entire poem is an attempt to see what meaning, if any, can be read into a given cultural unit, in its way symbolic of life in America and in the modern world as a whole. Can the life force realize itself fully in our society, the poet asks, or do the violent gestures of graceless lust and hatred and self-destruction define irrefutably a "world of corrupt cities" lacking continuity with past tradition or future perspectives? And can the poet himself find a "language" in it comparable to certain achievements in the past and to the vital relationships

PATERSON, by William Carlos Williams (BOOKS ONE, TWO AND THREE, \$1.50; BOOK FOUR, \$3).
THE COLLECTED LATER POEMS, \$3
(all New Directions).

of primitive societies, a language commensurate with the terrible need of individuals to communicate the nature of their love?

"No ideas but in things." And so private memories, extracts from letters and documents, close-ups of sex and family relations in America, marvelous lyric outbursts and afterbeats, vigorous social comment and satirical vignettes punctuate the poem explosively. In its surface multiplicity it bears a family resemblance to Pound's *Cantos*. It does also in some of its rhymes and attitudes, but the personality speaking is entirely different. Williams' America is indeed tragic, but at least in part that is seen as the basic human condition; and he holds fast to what is alive and solid in his country, with a firm grasp on the American idiom.

The poem is finally a unit—humane, passionate, self-humbling, assertive of a minimum value—the intellectual and esthetic possibilities arising in counter-dream against the dulling rituals of our society. Not as compressed or "designed" as *The Waste Land*, it nevertheless has a similar dramatic force and is perhaps the product of as rigorous a discipline. (Incidentally, *William Carlos Williams*—Vivienne Koch's detailed study—gives excellent insights into the nature of that discipline.)

It is hard to separate *Paterson* from Williams' other verse of the past decade or so. The over-all meanings converge, and the whole body of later work reveals the sophistication and virtuosity underlying the apparent simplicities even more than did, say, *In the American Grain* (his great prose study of our mythical history) or such a poem as "The Yachts"—both written before the last war. In the *Collected Later Poems* we find the release and surfacing of a compassionate and humorous spirit, particularly in the pieces on Williams' aged mother. More than ever, also, we find a dizzying physical awareness of the body's existence as the central fact of truth and art:

In Breughel's great picture, The Kermess,
the dancers go round, they go round
and
around, the squeal and the blare and
the
tweedle of bagpipes, a bugle and fiddles
tipping their bellies. . . .

And we find, as in Stevens, the whimsical imagination moving from arbitrary association into its deepest sources. There is the exaltation of body and experience despite all weakness of "Choral: The Pink Church." Here, as elsewhere, the moralists and professors get theirs; and the poet looses defiant blasts as of E. E. Cummings. Everywhere is displayed the highly revealing art of

juxtaposition, taking us from shock directly into meaning:

Like a cylindrical tank fresh silvered
upended on the sidewalk to advertise
some plumber's shop, a profusion
of pink roses bending ragged in the
rain—
speaks to me of all gentleness and its
enduring. . . .

Whether he is arguing in his emphatic, Laurentian way, or being a tough doc or cold observer or singing celebrant, or leading us into the vast relationships the sensibility can discover, Williams is always a committed poet, taking his chances, never resorting to mere irony or the ambiguity that comes of fear or myopia. He is one of the few writers who have gone on from the twenties and thirties without rejecting what once was valid for them but always ready to find new meanings and better ways to state them.

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LOOKING BACKWARD

EXILE'S RETURN, by Malcolm Cowley (Viking; \$3.50).

AFTER THE LOST GENERATION, by John W. Aldridge (McGraw-Hill; \$3.75).

THE Cowley book (a new edition) and the Aldridge book tie together because Aldridge says his generation took *Exile's Return* as a kind of Bible and felt an identification with the World War I generation both for what they had experienced and what they wrote. Aldridge implies that his World War II generation has been living, with diminishing returns, on the literary capital accumulated by its immediate elders. There has been no recurrence of exile; the new postwar generation is staying at home, mostly in New York journalism or the academic world, the latter development, says Aldridge, not being an unalloyed form of salvation.

When it first appeared seventeen years ago, Cowley's book provoked some bitter words on the grounds that it exaggerated the importance of the particular fraction of a generation with which it deals and that, anyhow, it was singularly lacking in perspective. Cow-

ley now admits the justice of the latter criticism, but not the former.

Aldridge is open to an even sharper indictment for lack of perspective. Moreover, he is infinitely more cocksure and dogmatic than ever Cowley was. Foreshortened perspective is a normal fault of the young. It is not utterly disadvantageous in novelists and poets—though crippling—but it is disastrous to critics. Aldridge's central point about the writers he discusses is that they lack values because the world about which they must write lacks values. Riding his thesis hard, he excludes any young writer who might be cited to contradict it, confining himself to Bourjaily, Mailer, Shaw, Burns, Capote, Vidal, Hayes, Bowles, Miller and Buechner.

He complains that they have been ignored by the serious critics, but destroys his case by demonstrating that they have written remarkably few books worth attention. Assuming Aldridge's judgment to be sound, and as an analyst of fiction he is very good indeed, why should the critics waste time over writers of bad books? One function of a critic is to make readers want to read the books discussed. Aldridge, it seems to me, makes you want to read only three: *The End of My Life*, by Bourjaily, *The Naked and the Dead*, by Mailer, and *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, by Capote. This is a small mouse to emerge from a considerable mountain of discussion. (And isn't my impression correct that two of these books have found numerous readers?) Aldridge makes one feel, uncomfortably, that the younger generation of novelists is a bust. The evidence that it isn't is excluded by the thesis.

That thesis—that his writers lack values in a valueless world—is terribly overdrawn and, at the most, convincing only for the moment because of the skill with which it is argued. Aldridge can write. That there has been a decay of values (not stopping to define values) nobody can deny. That there has been a complete erasure of values seems to me doubtful, a position to be sustained only by a highly selective use of evidence. It can be said more convincingly, perhaps, that many values worth defending are on the defensive. Moreover, the preservation, or re-creation, or rediscovery,

or redefinition of values is surely one of the most assiduously discussed matters of our time. Aldridge never once refers to this discussion. His use of writers, old and new, is designed to evade it. His account of Dos Passos is truncated to avoid it; he cites the early Eliot, but scorns the later; the early Huxley he refers to, but depreciates the later; he uses the D. H. Lawrence who insisted that traditional values were dead, not the Lawrence who sought, often in very odd places, for new ones. This is letting a thesis hag-ride you.

Much of what Aldridge says about the value question is vitiated by an absurdly foreshortened account of the value-crisis. He seems to think that if you add to the situation described in *Exile's Return* an experience in World War II, preferably as a combatant, you come out valueless. (Some may; not all.) Quite apart from the ancient fact that there is a tradition of viewing established values skeptically running back at least to the Greek Sophists, there is the more recent fact that the modern version of the difficulty unquestionably has its roots in the nineteenth century. The cycle of violence that began around 1914 accentuated but did not create it. The nineteenth-century version of it was what Nietzsche meant when he propounded his "God is dead" thesis, and many, many writers have played variations on it since, some long before two wars and a Great Depression made it everybody's property.

By adding a Prologue and an Epilogue to his book, Cowley has considerably improved what was always a valuable record. He has strengthened it by setting the adventure in a much sounder perspective. Aldridge might reflect on this. Among other things, Cowley remarks that many of the exiles sobered down (in all senses) to raise families. He might also have said that some of them have so far sobered as to accept election to the Academy of Arts and Letters, which in my youth I was taught to believe was a fate worse than death.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

C. Hartley Grattan has published books on Ambrose Bierce and the James family, plus much critical material on American writers and on Australian and other foreign literatures.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

THE SOCIALIST TRAGEDY, by Ivor Thomas (Macmillan; \$2.75).

THIS BOOK represents about as complete a reversal of outlook as modern man can accomplish. And when we include him among the moderns, we hope Ivor Thomas will pardon the epithet.

Thomas was a junior minister in the Attlee government until, after 16 years' membership in the British Labour Party, he left the fold in 1948 to join the Conservatives. He is a widely-traveled man, having set foot on the five continents. By far his dizziest journey, though, has been from socialism to right-of-center in the Tory Party in one hop. A flip across the political chess-board can be impelled by sincere conviction, but just how honest is the rightist book by this recent leftist?

In his chapter on "The British Experience" the author describes as disastrous the Labour Government's nationalization of various segments of the economy. Nowhere does Thomas mention that the Conservative Party, to which he was giving allegiance when last heard from, has promised to uphold state ownership as it exists, except for steel and the minor trucking business.

It is hard to imagine any explanation, other than deliberate suppression of the truth, for Ivor Thomas's failure to tell his readers that a future Conservative Cabinet is pledged to stand by nationalization of the Bank of England, coal mines, railroads, gas, electricity, civil aviation, cables and wireless. To disclose this fact would largely discredit the writer's absurd thesis that "if the Labour Party remains in power for a few more years, and uses its power as it has done since 1945, the economic organization of Great Britain will be so transformed that it will hardly be distinguishable from a communist state."

Thomas is guilty of double distortion. First, he writes throughout his 249 pages as if Britain were a socialist nation well advanced toward becoming a police state. With 75 percent of the British economy still capitalist and with the four freedoms jealously guarded by a vigilant parliament, only the hopelessly gullible will swallow his hoax.

Secondly, he suggests that before the rise of the Labour Government in 1945, free enterprise prevailed in the British Isles, completely ignoring the grip of British cartels which have stifled competition and shielded the inefficient. Even today prices of more than 30 percent of all articles sold in British retail shops are manipulated by price rings. It was only this spring that the Labour Government finally undertook to sponsor legislation against resale price maintenance. Ivor Thomas's conversion to Conservatism, despite a few of his more truthful and telling criticisms of Labour policies, will make the normal reader queasy.

FREDERICK KUH

Frederick Kuh returned to this country recently after 32 years abroad as correspondent for the United Press, the London Daily Herald and the Chicago Sun Times. He is now Washington correspondent for the Sun Times.

LOVE FROM EMILY

EMILY DICKINSON'S LETTERS TO DOCTOR AND MRS. JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND. Edited by their granddaughter, Theodora Van Wagenen Ward (Harvard University Press; \$4).

IN A SENSE, all of Emily Dickinson's letters are "love-letters." To her, little besides love, human and divine, was worth writing about, and often the two seemed to fuse. That abundance of detail—descriptions of daily life, clothes, food, travels, etc.—that is found in what are usually considered "good letters" plays very little part in hers. Instead, there is a constant insistence on the strength of her affections, an almost childish daring and repetitiveness about them that must sometimes have been very hard to take. Is it a tribute to her choice of friends, and to the friends themselves, that they *could* take it and frequently appreciate her as a poet as well? Or is it occasionally only a tribute to the bad taste and extreme sentimentality of the times?

At any rate, a letter containing such, to us at present, embarrassing remarks as, "I'd love to be a bird or a bee, that whether hum or sing, still might be near you," is rescued in the nick of time by a sentence like, "If it wasn't for broad daylight, and cooking-stoves, and roosters, I'm afraid you would have

occasion to smile at my letters often, but so sure as 'this mortal' essays immortality, a crow from a neighboring farm-yard dissipates the illusion, and I am here again." In modern correspondence expressions of feeling have gone underground: but if we are sometimes embarrassed by Emily Dickinson's letters we are spared the contemporary letter-writer's cynicism and "humor."

This beautifully edited collection of 93 letters written to Doctor and Mrs. Holland covers the last 33 years of Emily Dickinson's life. Dr. Holland had begun his career as a rather reluctant country doctor, and he went on to become a wealthy citizen, a popular lecturer, the editor of the *Springfield Republican*, and finally the founder and editor of *Scribner's Monthly*.

It is curious to think of the Dickinson family reading the *Springfield Republican* as religiously as they must have from the many glancing references to it; but except for generalizations usually turned into metaphors, current events rarely appear in these letters of gratitude and devotion. As in her poetry, Emily Dickinson is interested in Geography (in which "Heaven" seems to be one of the most familiar places) and the Seasons, and in her own combinations of both. "It is also November. The moons are more laconic and the sun-downs sterner, and Gibraltar lights make the village foreign. November always seemed to me the Norway of the year." "February passed like a skate. . . . My flowers are near and foreign, and I have but to cross the floor to stand in the Spice Isles." And in the concluding letters, when Mrs. Holland is visiting in Florida, Emily Dickinson speaks of it as if it were Heaven, with which she is familiar, as well as an earthly state of which she is very ignorant.

The use of homely images, and their solidity, remind one over and over of George Herbert, and as the letters grow more terse and epigrammatic, one is reminded not only of Herbert's poetry but of whole sections of his "Outlandish Proverbs." And one is grateful for the sketchiness: it is nice for a change to know a poet who never felt the need for apologies and essays, long para-

graphs, or even for long sentences. Yet these letters have structure and strength. It is the sketchiness of the water-spider, tenaciously holding to its upstream position by means of the faintest ripples, while making one aware of the current of death and the darkness below.

The careful study of Emily Dickinson's changing handwriting, appended to this volume, bears out this image pictorially. Among other illustrations there is a charming photograph of Lavinia Dickinson, laughing, and holding one of her innumerable cats that seem to have been a trial to her adored sister. Twenty-nine of the letters are included in the most recent edition of *Letters of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Mabel Loomis Todd, with an introduction by Mark Van Doren (World; \$3.75). Mrs. Holland died believing that all the others had been lost, but some sixty more have now been found and further ones may yet come to light. ELIZABETH BISHOP

Elizabeth Bishop, author of North & South, winner of the Houghton Mifflin Poetry Award in 1945 and a Guggenheim Fellow in 1947, has just been given the first Lucy Martin Donnelly Fellowship by Bryn Mawr College.

MOVIES

Release of Oliver

EVERYONE asks what the Fagin of this controversial, long-heralded *Oliver Twist* is really like. Well, he is a fanciful monster with a great crest of a nose, a sinister lisp, blinking cold eyes, but yet a sprightly, almost elfin quality, as though a vulture were trying to be ingratiating. Alec Guinness is a resourceful, flamboyant character actor; he was given his head here and has created a bird of prey, agile, sardonic, repellent yet oddly attractive. I don't believe in censorship as a device for social improvement but I can understand why Jews are made unhappy by this Fagin. Nevertheless, I think it will do little harm: as a stereotype, it is too extravagantly individualistic to be persuasive.

The picture itself is a formidable piece of machinery, meticulously designed and built of the best materials. The famous

characters—Sikes, The Artful Dodger, Mr. Bumble, Nancy, Mr. Sowerberry and the others—are each instantly recognizable and correct to the last stove-in hat and identifying mannerism. The sets are German-literal: wet brick walls shining in lamplight, country landscapes roaring with thunder and lashing trees, the littered dens of the criminal poor and the city skyline fuming in the dawn. From costumes to cobblestones, the picture is insistently right; it looks as though Madame Tussaud had dressed and set the show and the result is in truth a little waxy.

Oliver Twist is a notorious, if superior, tear-jerker and it is a strange experience to sit unmoved through a performance of it as expert as this Ronald Neame-David Lean picture. Everyone was concentrating so hard on looking like Dickens that no one apparently thought to feel like him.

For the record, Robert Newton is Sikes, Francis L. Sullivan is Mr. Bumble, Kay Walsh is Nancy, Anthony Newley is The Artful Dodger and John Howard Davies, as Oliver, holds up his bowl in a gesture of infinite wistfulness.

The Secret of Convict Lake is a guns-and-muscles saga with ambitions. It aspires, like *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and *The Ox-Bow Incident*, to rise above the ruffian level of melodrama and become respectable theatre. It doesn't succeed, but it is still entertainment superior to most of its kind.

Frank P. Rosenberg and Michael Gordon, producer and director, have cast the picture lavishly: Ethel Barrymore, Glenn Ford, Gene Tierney, Zachary Scott, Ann Dvorak and some twenty other capable actors in the smaller roles. The story, which has gone as usual through a battery of typewriters, is based on a true incident of the old West. A small group of convicts, escaping over the mountains from Carson City in the winter of 1871, come down on a storm-bound California hill settlement. The exhausted fugitives soon discover that all the men of the community are off somewhere hunting gold and they settle themselves on the beleaguered women to wait for the weather to mend and their strength to return.

It is a good situation but a proliferation of side plots prevents a story of any depth from emerging. One convict is a wronged man thirsting for revenge; another is a professional bully and killer; a third, a compulsive rapist. One woman is burdened with a past; another is bitter and distraught because she has none. Miss Barrymore, just in from Jalna, is the bedridden Amazon quite capable of holding the wolf pack at bay with her falcon gaze. It would take a single strong hand to hold this abundance of incident, motive and personality to a purposeful story line; Gordon seems not to have been up to the job. Money and love, hate and frustration and madness chase one another around in a squirrel cage that generates a great deal of speed and noise but little forward motion.

The cast was apparently instructed to attempt in the acting a stylization of the bravura methods of gaslight melodrama. That, too, was a good idea; it could have given a ballet liteness and sophistication to the rather dated material. But a plan like that must be carried straight through—in the sets, the action, the dialogue, the editing—and here it is confined to the players alone, so that their deliberately broad and brittle manner looks inept against the unaccented background and tempo of the picture.

Miss Barrymore is also to be seen at present in a new printing of *Kind Lady*, with Maurice Evans as her lethal lodger and Keenan Wynn in the classic role of second murderer. Wynn performs his feckless villainy with intelligent enthusiasm and, with the assistance of Angela Lansbury as his brassy wife, gives the picture what life and menace it has. The two principals seem little interested in re-knitting this tired yarn; they look eager to drop their jobs for an hour of tea and theatre gossip. *That*, now, would be worth attending.

How is it possible to be uncharitable toward a picture whose avowed purpose is to improve the lot of the blind, particularly the veteran blind? Very well, *Bright Victory* is a "sincere" picture starring Arthur Kennedy and made with technical authenticity, largely at the

Valley Forge Veterans Hospital. It should be seen by every man, woman and child who habitually patronizes the blind, treating them like helpless cripples or mental defectives. More intuitive viewers may find it a little patronizing of them.

Like Marlon Brando of *The Men*, Kennedy is at first no model patient (won't do a thing to help himself and tries to slash his wrists in the wash-room) but at the end he "wins through" thanks to the love and "beautiful understanding" of his girl (Peggy Dow). To the predictable harassments of the picture—insults, misguided pity, over-curious friends, the rich fiancée who is sorry, but . . . —is added the special misfortune that the hero, a Southern boy with a violent Jim Crow complex, is unable to detect for weeks that his hospital buddy (James Edwards) is a Negro. This sub-plot is entirely incredible (for one thing, Edwards' pleasant voice is obviously that of a Negro) and strikes me as a tasteless and superficial effort to be progressive.

ROBERT HATCH

MUSIC

Operatic Records

THE METROPOLITAN OPERA, under contract with Columbia to issue two full-length opera recordings a year, has made Gounod's *Faust* its fifth issue in a list that already included *Hansel and Gretel*, *La Bohème*, *Madama Butterfly* and *Fledermaus*. Just what considerations led to the choice of *Faust* only the Metropolitan management and Goddard Lieberson of Columbia can say. The Met is notoriously ill-equipped to give French opera, and last season's production of *Faust*, one of whose ever-shifting casts is perpetuated in this album, rose above the level of conscientious routine only when Thelma Votikpa and Lawrence Davidson (both included in the recording) sang the few notes of their small roles of Martha and Wagner.

The sorriest feature of this generally mediocre Metropolitan performance is the French diction, or what passes for it.

In *Faust*, as in every French opera, the cadence of the language and the coloration of the vowels are quite as important as the music. The thick, soggy pronunciation of the Metropolitan's American and Italian principals robs the libretto of theatrical communicativeness and makes the music sound sententious.

Viewed as vocalism rather than as lyric drama, however, the performance is not without merit. Eleanor Steber the Marguerite, employs many lovely, though impassive, pianissimos. Eugene Conley has the high C, if none of the poetic imagination, for the role of Faust. Frank Guarrera sings handsomely but loudly as Valentin. The rich voice of Cesare Siepi, the Metropolitan's new 28-year-old Italian bass, is worth hearing, even though he seemingly has no notion who this Mephistopheles fellow is. The one undeniable virtue of the recording, which is conducted by Fausto Cleva as a bread-and-butter job, is the exceptionally full and lifelike texture of the vocal and instrumental sound. But even with this advantage, the Metropolitan's *Faust* compares unfavorably with the RCA Victor version made a couple of years ago by Sir Thomas Beecham and singers from the Paris Opera, and scheduled for reissue in LP form this fall.

Two recordings of Weber's *Der Freischütz*, hitherto unrecorded, appeared abruptly within a fortnight of each other. *Der Freischütz*, an archetypal example of early German romantic opera, is seldom given nowadays, and is known chiefly for the brilliant overture and Agathe's beautiful prayer, "Leise, leise, frommer Weise." I have found the rest of it quite exciting—not only the diabolical incantation scene in the eerie Wolf's Glen, but the more conventional vocal set-pieces as well.

The Decca release, a prewar German recording on two discs, is acceptable acoustically. It is irritatingly cut; dozens of snippets are excised in a way that spoils the shape and cumulative energy of Weber's music. But Maria Müller's singing of Agathe's music, given in full, is the sort of benison to the ear for which at present we too often have to depend upon artists who have retired. The London version, on three discs, is

complete except for some of the spoken dialogue, and it is technically up-to-date. Its interpreters, however (Maud Cunitz is the Agathe), are uniformly inferior to Decca's people. It is yet preferable, for it presents Weber's score as he wrote it.

In the fall Cetra-Soria will continue its excellent project of recording the less-known operas of Verdi; its fine releases of *Ernani*, *Nabucco* and *I Lombardi* have already proven the worth of the enterprise. Meanwhile the company, which specializes in Italian opera, has been scraping the bottom of the barrel—needlessly, for dozens of good Italian operas remain unrecorded. Puccini's *La Fanciulla del West* (*The Girl of the Golden West* to you and me) is a maudlin piece and musically unworthy of the adroit, self-critical composer of *La Bohème* and *Turandot*. Francesco Cilea's *Adriana Lecouvreur* (issued, presumably, because its composer died recently) employs the supercharged machinery of turn-of-the-century Italian veristic opera without the telling musical ideas of *Tosca*, *Cavalleria Rusticana* or *Andrea Chenier*.

Through the resources of its affiliated French company, Columbia is able to offer authoritative accounts of two classics of the Parisian repertory: Bizet's *Carmen* and Berlioz's *The Damnation of Faust*. *Carmen* is so realistically recorded, even to the heel-beats in the Spanish dancing, that the stage seems almost visible. Following Opéra-Comique usage, it is given with extensive spoken dialogue instead of the ponderous sung recitatives that Ernest Guiraud composed after Bizet's death and that are always used at the Metropolitan. In the original version, almost unknown in the United States, the pace is swifter, the motivations more fully explained, and both music and action gain in volatility. The singers in the recording (Solange Michel and Raoul Jobin, standard exponents of the roles at the Opéra-Comique, are the *Carmen* and Don José) are not inspired, but they know every nuance of their business, as does the experienced conductor, André Cluytens.

The Damnation of Faust is not a

familiar work in America, although it is a staple of the Paris Opera. Richer in orchestration and more broadly ceremonial than Gounod's perfumed and peppered score, it is an impressive but slow-moving work. It is magisterially conducted by Jean Fournet, and sung with more dignity than tonal beauty by a Paris Opera cast.

Ten excerpts from the repertory of Claudia Muzio, considered by many of us who heard her before her death in 1936 the greatest of all Italian singing actresses, have been reissued on a Columbia LP record. Muzio is the ideal Violetta in *La Traviata*, reading the letter from Germont in her death scene with the accents of Duse, and singing the subsequent soliloquy with unequaled pathos and poignancy. Other supreme achievements in an incomparable collection are "Pace, pace, mio Dio," from *La Forza del Destino*; "La Mamma morta," from *Andrea Chenier*; and the two duets from *Otello*, with Francesco Merli as a sturdy-voiced Moor.

CECIL SMITH

(Continued from page 13)

into any of the following directions:

Into declining areas. Studies of chronically depressed semi-industrial areas like Scranton, Pa., and the "Little Egypt" area of southern Illinois, where coal is giving out, and the "cut-over" region of northern Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, where timber is becoming rare, suggest that many people will suffer almost anything to hang onto their run-down houses and scraggly gardens. Eventually, perhaps, they can be encouraged to move to greener pastures, but meanwhile they must be supported. New industries for such areas should be encouraged if at all possible.

Into farm areas with surplus labor. Industry can alleviate many of the problems in areas up to now dependent on the price of one or a few agricultural crops. Experience in World War II shows that factory labor is easier to train than was previously thought possible. New industries in new areas will in turn encourage the development of supporting industries, bringing the sec-

tion's economy more and more into balance. Under-paid local farm labor can find better living conditions. Reactionary politicians might find their economic ground slipping away from under them.

Into newly created towns. Industrialists, faced with the necessity of moving 10 miles out of town, might decide to move 50 if encouraged. New towns might spring up in favorable spots where corn or cotton had reigned supreme. These towns—like Oak Ridge—might be planned and laid out by trained specialists. "Two hundred new towns," declared Holmes Perkins, chairman of Harvard's Regional Planning Department, "could do more for American families than any other proposal yet made."

Launched boldly, such a scheme could become a domestic Point Four program in a revitalized Fair Deal. It could appeal to all sections of the country, for each state has "underdeveloped" areas. If billions are to be spent on the defense effort for years to come, it is common sense to plan the spending in relation to the country's social and economic needs. The criteria of military strategy can be combined with those of social strategy. Factories in new towns rather than in urban slum areas are preferable from both points of view.

Regional economic competition is a good thing. It is well for New Englanders to realize that whereas in 1929 their average per-capita income was 23 percent above the national average, it is only five percent above that norm today. But they should not expect the government to restore their lost position so long as Southerners, despite sizable gains, still earn only two-thirds of the national average. A positive program of expansion in all sections to utilize wasted resources can push up the general standard of living so dynamically as to make the percentage points of regional gains or losses appear insignificant. Defense funds must not be dissipated as a dole to special interests when they can be the impetus for a fuller development of the nation's natural wealth for the general benefit—in peace or war.

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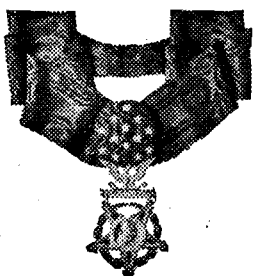
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